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CHRESTIEN WECHEL AND VESALIUS

TWELVE UNIQUE MEDICAL BROADSIDES FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY

STEN G. LINDBERG

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Mr W. J. Bishop
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By Sten G. Lindberg

I

Despite the losses suffered in the fire of 1697 the Royal Library in Stockholm still possesses several early medical books. Two of the most remarkable anatomical works of the sixteenth century, Charles Estienne's *De dissectione partium corporis humani libri tres,* Paris 1545 (written about 1532) and Andreas Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem,* Basle 1543, were acquired from Poland, probably from the library of the Jagellon dynasty.[1] The collection also includes two works by plagiarists of Vesalius, Thomas Geminus's *Compendiosa totius Anatomiae delineatio,* London, 1545, and Jacques Grévin's revision of this, *Anatomes totius, aere insculpta delineatio,* printed by André Wechel, Paris, 1565.

Recently, while examining these two volumes, I discovered twelve contemporary medical broadsides that had been inserted into them. Of all the rarities of medical literature the broadsides are the most rare, sought after by scholars and collectors alike. The most famous are Vesalius's own *Tabulae anatomicae sex,* printed in Venice in 1538 on large sheets, the height of the largest figure being 43 cm. The fact that only two complete copies have survived to our day is doubtless largely due to their inconvenient size. In these sheets, Vesalius still relies on the authority of Galen, but in one respect he is an innovator.

The last three plates, drawn by Jan van Calcar, Vesalius's countryman and pupil of Titian, illustrate the human skeleton. Vesalius's presentation of the three standard positions—anterior, posterior, and lateral—constitutes nothing new, but marks a considerable improvement in the execution. Already in 1493 a large woodcut had been used to illustrate the skeleton, and Karl Sudhoff has drawn attention to MS illustrations of much earlier dates.[2] There were also later versions of skeleton figures available to Vesalius, though we need not consider them at the moment.

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[1] I hope to have an opportunity elsewhere to describe more thoroughly the book-binding details which support this theory of provenance.

But when Vesalius himself drew diagrammatic representations of the liver, the sexual organs, veins and arteries in the first three plates, he was breaking new ground. Charles Singer and C. Rabin, who have subjected the *Tabulae* to a very thorough scrutiny, describe this contribution of Vesalius's as "the earliest attempt at a graphic exposition, to trained medical men, of both physiological and anatomical detail . . . It is with the *Tabulae* that there opens the anatomic era of medicine, the age of graphic record of the arcana of nature, the systematically observational period of science."[3]

The idea of illustrating Galen's system was a happy one. There is certainly some truth in Vesalius's statement in the dedication of the *Tabulae* that a drawing of the veins "proved so pleasing to all the professors of medicine that they strenuously urged me to supply a description of the arteries and nerves also".[4] That these plates satisfied a real demand is best shown by the fact that they were plagiarised in several places all over Europe during the next few years. And that was not all.

Once Vesalius had broken the ice, a long series of medical broadsides followed of the type that represents Adam and Eve with trunks which could be folded back so as to show their viscera. It may seem strange to compare Vesalius's elegant *Tabulae* with these usually rather crude sheets. Such a comparison, however, may provide an explanation of the remarkable fact that broadsides of this type continued to be printed substantially unaltered until late in the seventeenth century, irrespective of the new anatomical discoveries which Vesalius himself had made and published in his *Fabrica,* 1543. As has often been the case in the history of ideas, these discoveries were for a long time known to a few persons only. On the whole, the renaissance physician was just as respectful of authorities as his medieval predecessors, the only difference being that the authority of Avicenna and the Arabs was discarded for that of Galen, Hippocrates and Celsus.[5] It is the doctrines of these latter that Vesalius illustrates in his *Tabulae* and which are the basis of the "pre-Vesalian" anatomy of the Adam and Eve plates. These broadsides have always puzzled the medical historians who have studied them, including such authorities as Ludwig Choulant (Dresden, 1852)[6], Fritz Weindler (Dresden, 1908)[7], J. G. De Lint (Gorinchem, Holland (1922), 1923)[8], and LeRoy Crummer (Omaha, Neb. 1923 and 1925)[9].

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[2] K. Sudhoff, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anatomie im Mittelalter" (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin, H. 4), Leipzig 1908, 44 et seq., where he draws attention to a manuscript skeleton from 1454.

[3] "A prelude to modern science, Being a discussion of the history, sources and circumstances of the 'Tabulae anatomicae sex' of Vesalius" (Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. New Series. No. 1.), Cambridge 1946, v and ix.

[4] Translated by H. Cushing, A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius (Publ. No. 6, Historical Library, Yale Medical Library), New York 1943, 12.

Crummer grouped the whole of the then known material into three main categories. The first group, which shows the skeleton, is subdivided into seven different types with fourteen variants; the second group, Vesalius's *Tabulae* and plagiarised versions of them, comprises eight types with thirteen variants; and the third main group, Adam and Eve, twelve types with twenty-seven variants. Practically all of these twenty-seven types with their fifty-four variants are either unique or extant in very few copies, published between 1493 and 1683, most of them in the middle or latter half of the sixteenth century.

The twelve broadsides in the Royal Library are not identical with any of these variants. In the order in which I intend to treat them, three belong to the group of plagiarised Vesalius plates, five to the skeleton group, and two pairs to the Adam and Eve group. A list of them with a detailed bibliographical description will be given in the conclusion.

II

Our knowledge of the pirated versions of Vesalius's *Tabulae* is largely derived from Vesalius himself. In a letter which he wrote on the 24th August (1542, according to the unanimous opinion of scholars) to his publisher in Basle,

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[5] See S. Lindroth, "Medicin och humanism under renässansen" (*Lychnos* 1950—51, 163—181).

[6] L. Choulant, Geschichte und Bibliographie der anatomischen Abbildung, Leipzig 1852, particularly pp. 39—42. Several additions were made in the English translation by Mortimer Frank, History and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration, Chicago 1920, 156—167.

[7] F. Weindler, Geschichte der gynäkologisch-anatomischen Abbildung, Dresden 1908, particularly pp. 104—112, where there are important illustrations.

[8] J. G. De Lint, "Fugitive Anatomical Sheets" (Janus 28 (1924), 78—91, including 7 plates).

[9] L. Crummer, "Early Anatomical Fugitive Sheets" (Annals of Medical History 5 (1923), 189—209, with 10 figures). And "Further Information on Early Anatomical Fugitive Sheets" (Ibidem 7 (1925), 1—5 with 2 figures). His collections are now in the Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor.

Oporinus, and which the latter printed in the introduction to the *Fabrica,* 1543, Vesalius says[1]:

> But these privileges are often not worth the paper they cover, as I know but too well, from what happened to my Anatomical Tables published at Venice three years ago, the value of the decrees of sovereigns issued to printers and booksellers who swarm everywhere and have marred my works in putting them forth under pompous titles. In the edition of Augsburg the letter which I have written to Narcissus Vertunus, that model of physicians of our time, and first physician to the Emperor and king of Naples, has been suppressed and replaced by the preface of a German babbler who, unworthily decrying Avicenna and the Arabic authors, ranks me with the abridged Galens and, to cheat the buyer, pretends that I have put into six tables what in Galen fills thirty books.
>
> Moreover, he affirms that in his German translation he has used Greek and Latin terms, whereas he has not only suppressed these but has likewise omitted all that he could not translate and nearly all that gave value to my Tables; to say nothing of his wretched copies of the Venetian prints. He who has pirated them at Cöln has done still worse than his fellow of Augsburg; and although some anonymous scribe has written in praise of the printer that his plates are better than mine, they are in truth merely clumsy copies of rough sketches of my own which I had communicated to some of my friends during the progress of the work. *At Paris they have copied the three first plates very well* (added in the 1555 ed.: "in the Latin edition and in the French edition")[2], *but the others they have omitted, perhaps because they were difficult to engrave, though it was these first three which students could have best dispensed with.* Worst of all, so far as science is concerned, at Strasburg, another plagiarist, whom Fuchs greatly blamed, thought fit to contract the size of the plates, which can hardly be too large, to daub them with ugly colouring, and to surround them with a text borrowed from that of the Augsburg edition, but put forth as his own. Envying this man's fame, another is publishing a book, compiled from all quarters and illustrated with prints taken from books printed at Marburg and Frankfort. Indeed I would gladly put up with and even welcome [the cost entailed on me by] the divine and happy Italian wits [whose works] deserve an appreciation from the doctors in Germany different from that which they have received from those who know them only as reproduced by the miserable slaves of sordid printers who, seizing upon any writing from which a little profit can be wrung, abridge it without discernment, or alter it, or merely copy it, and publish it under their own names as something new, and as if it were not protected by any privilege.

Choulant succeeded in identifying most of these pirated versions. It is now agreed that the Augsburg version was printed by Jobst de Necker in June,

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[1] In Stirling and Maxwell's rendering, cited by Cushing, 16 et seq. Cf. Choulant and Frank, 185 et seq.

[2] As remarked by A. F. Didot, Essai typographique sur l'histoire de la gravure sur bois, Paris 1863, column 94.

1539, that the Strassburg plagiarist was Walter Ryff, who produced several editions during 1541, and that the plagiarist in Marburg and Frankfurt was Dryander, who brought out two editions in 1541 and 1542.

As regards the pirated versions from Cologne and Paris, opinions differ. Choulant attributed a set of six plates to Cologne, but later writers have regarded them as a re-issue of Necker's Augsburg version.[3] That thorough commentator of Vesalius, M. Roth, ascribed to Cologne a set of the first three plates, which is preserved in the grand-ducal library at Darmstadt and has no place or date of printing. But since this copy only contained the first three figures, the Belgian bibliographer Van der Haeghen referred them to Paris, and Mortimer Frank agreed with him.[4] The copy in question is not recorded by Cushing, who has made the most complete inventory of the pirated versions. Choulant simply states that "die Pariser Drucke, wohl bei Wechel, sind mir nicht bekannt", neither were they known to Edouard Turner.[5] Cushing took up a suggestion made by Turner and advanced an ingenious explanation to account for the mystery of the Paris piracy. I will not recount his argument here, but will content myself with pointing out that the incorrectness of one of his assumptions, in which he had been misled by Choulant's *Ergänzungen,* renders his explanation invalid. He assumes that the first three plates were of the skeleton. Turner had earlier spotted this mistake of Choulant's, and the investigation by Singer and Rabin has now removed any doubt that Vesalius's first three plates were of veins and arteries.[6]

However, if anyone still has doubts and asks for proof, this is now available in the Royal Library in Stockholm. The twelve broadsides there include the Vesalian plates of veins and arteries with the imprint *Parisiis āpud Christianum Wechelum sub scuto Basiliensi in vico Jacobaeo.* Choulant's guess is thus confirmed. As Vesalius himself said, the figures are very well copied. Minute examination is needed to detect the occasional extremely small deviations which show that the figures are very skilful copies. In this, they are far superior to those of Jobst de Necker, as appears from a comparison with one of the four extant copies—that in the Waller collection, now in the University Library at Uppsala. Thus, the Wechel plates compare favourably with the Darmstadt copy that Van der Haeghen considered an inferior piece of work. Indeed, the copying is so good that reproduction is unnecessary, now that Vesalius's original is so easily available in Singer and Rabin's book.

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[3] Choulant 53; M. Roth, Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin 1892, 122; Van der Haeghen, Bibliotheca Belgica, Litt. V 183; F. M. G. De Feyfer, Die Schriften des Andreas Vesalius (Janus 19 (1914) 444); Choulant & Frank 190; Cushing 19.

[4] Roth 122; Van der Haeghen V 78; Choulant & Frank, 173, footnote.

[5] Choulant 51; E. Turner, "Les six premières planches anatomiques de Vesale et leurs contrefaçons" (Gazette hebdomadaire de médecine et de chirurgie 24 (1877) 270: "on ne connait pas les trois premières planches contrefaites à Paris ni l'éditeur qui les a données seule... on soupçonne, il est vrai, Christian Wechel, qui les aurait remplacées en 1543 par le compilation de Ryff").

[6] Singer and Rabin v; Cushing 32—43.

As to the text, this is found to be printed with the greatest care. The printer's errors that occur here and there in the original—letters upside down, *n* for *m*, etc.—have been conscientiously corrected. Wechel evidently noticed the original's interchange of the words HA-ORTI and HA-NABHUBH[7], set in Hebrew characters, but he had the misfortune to put HA-ORTI in both places. The original uses a typographical novelty, lower-case *v* at the beginning of a word being written as *v* and not as *u*— a reform recommended only two years earlier by the poet Trissino, who was interested in orthography.[8] This modification was overlooked by Wechel, however.

If we now compare Wechel's text with that of the Darmstadt copy, in which Van der Haeghen "reconnaît facilement la contrefaçon de Paris", it is obvious that this is a quite different edition. Wechel prints the original's dedication to the Emperor's physician, Narcissus Vertunus, while the Darmstadt copy has an altogether different introduction, which Van der Haeghen cites. The latter contains the boast: "but the body itself and its contours we reproduce from the most elegant of originals even more elegantly."[9] Van der Haeghen did not agree with this view; on the contrary, he considered the plates to be inferior to those of Necker. If we recall what Vesalius wrote to Oporinus about the pirated Cologne version, the passage about the boastful printer as well as the comparison with the Necker piracy are found to fit. There is thus no doubt that Roth was right, as opposed to Van der Haeghen, when he suggested that the Darmstadt broadsides are copies of the first three plates of the pirated edition from Cologne, "noch von Niemand gesehen". As we now see, the version that Van der Haeghen supposed had been printed in Paris was actually the first half of the Cologne edition. Thus, the discovery in the Royal Library in Stockholm has solved not only the mystery of the Paris piracy, but also that of Cologne.

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[7] Singer and Rabin, notes 36, 37 and 71, pp. 6, 13.

[8] A. F. Johnson, Type Designs, London 1934.

[9] "Ipsum autem corpus picturae suis lineamentis ex elegantissimo reddidimus longè elegantius." Van der Haeghen, Litt. V 78; Roth 122; Chouiant & Frank 173.

Some other problems concerning the origin of the Paris edition will be dealt with below in my analysis of the five skeleton plates.

III

Why did Wechel copy no more than the first three of Vesalius's *Tabulae,* instead of all six, as the pirate editors of Augsburg and Cologne had done? Vesalius was himself surprised at this, and suspected that the skeleton was beyond the ability of the Parisian draughtsman or wood-engraver. It is quite natural that this explanation should have occurred most readily to Vesalius, as he was justifiably proud of what he had achieved. However, when one sees with what skill Wechel's figures are executed, one is not at all convinced that Vesalius had hit upon the truth. An entirely different explanation may be put forward.

Wechel may have considered it unnecessary to reproduce the skeleton figures of Vesalius, because he had already published an illustrated description of the human skeleton in his *Osteotome,* 1536, with which we are acquainted through Choulant's reference to it.[1] The suggestion that Wechel reasoned in this way finds support in the catalogue of publications he issued in 1544. At the end of the medical group, *Osteotome picta* and *Tabulae tres de Venis & Arteriis* are listed consecutively.[2] These two works are also included in the excerpt from this catalogue that Conrad Gesner gives in his *Pandectae,* and we are even told how much the sheets cost when they originally appeared. *Osteotome picta* cost 1 sou 6 deniers, *Tabulae 3. de Venis & Arteriis* 3 sous.[3]

Choulant's copy was painted, in yellow on a brown background, in conformity with the description in the publisher's list. It shows a standing skeleton seen from the front and from the back, with Latin explanations at the sides. Choulant described the drawing as better and more correct than the other representations of the skeleton from the period immediately before and after its publication—those of Berengarius in his *Commentaria super anatomiam Mundini,* Bologna 1521 (reproduced by Cushing, Fig. 11), Dryander in *Anatomia Mundini,* Marburg 1541 (reproduced by Cushing, Fig. 28), and of Ryff in his *Anatomia,* which appeared in several editions between 1541 and 1545 (reproduced by Cushing, Fig. 35).

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[1] Choulant 39. Subsequent works about medical broadsides have all included Choulant's description, but it is clear that only Roth saw the sheets at first hand, on which point more will be said later.

[2] "Index librorum omnium, quos suis typis excudit Christianus Wechelus Parisiis..." 1544. It was reproduced by M. Maittaire, Annales typographici, T. II. Hagae-Comitum 1722, 437. Since M. completed the list with the year of publication where he had himself seen the books, and since no date is given for the two items in question, it is evident that they were unknown to him.

[3] Maittaire 419. For comparison, it may be mentioned that the same source gives the price of Charles Estienne's large work, De dissectione partium, printed by Simon de Colines, as 45 sous (ibid. 516). In 1926 an incomplete copy of Jobst de Necker's pirated Augsburg edition was sold for $ 1 000. Cushing 19.

So far as I know, Wechel's *Osteotome* has never been reproduced. It is therefore impossible to say with certainty whether the copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm is a revised edition or an unaltered re-impression of the 1536 *Osteotome.* Apart from the fact that they are uncoloured, the Stockholm broadsides agree exactly with Choulant's description. They have exactly the same title as headlines running over the two sheets: *Osteotome. i. ossium corporis humani // diuisio, ex Galeno praecipue collecta.*[4] The imprint of the Stockholm copy, however, bears another date: *Vaenit Parisiis apud Christianum Wechelum sub scuto Basiliensi, in vico Iacobeo, anno M.D.XXXVIII.*

The drawing differs from other representations of the skeleton in the same way as Choulant's copy of 1536. It should be added that it is also quite different from the so-called Balamio skeleton, which was published for the first time in Balamio's Latin translation of Galen's *De ossibus* 1535 (reproduced by Cushing, Fig. 12). Moreover, Wechel's *Osteotome* of 1538 differs from the other illustrations of the skeleton in its size—the height of the skeletons is 38.2 cm, and the surface of the sheets 47.2 × 28 cm.

It is not just a matter of bibliographic curiosity to discover whether Wechel's two Osteotomes have identical figures and text. The question is also of vital importance for assessing the Vesalius-Calcar figures of the skeleton from 1538. Apart from Choulant, the only person who has had the opportunity of studying Wechel's *Osteotome* of 1536 is, as far as I know, M. Roth of Basle. Concerning Vesalius's skill in skeletonizing, he says:

> Thatsächlich kenne ich nur Eine Skelettdarstellung vor dem Jahre 1538, welche das Knochengerüst vollständig hervortreten lässt. Es ist die zu Paris im J. 1536 erschienene Osteotome, die gerade hiedurch den Verdacht vesalischen Einflusses er-

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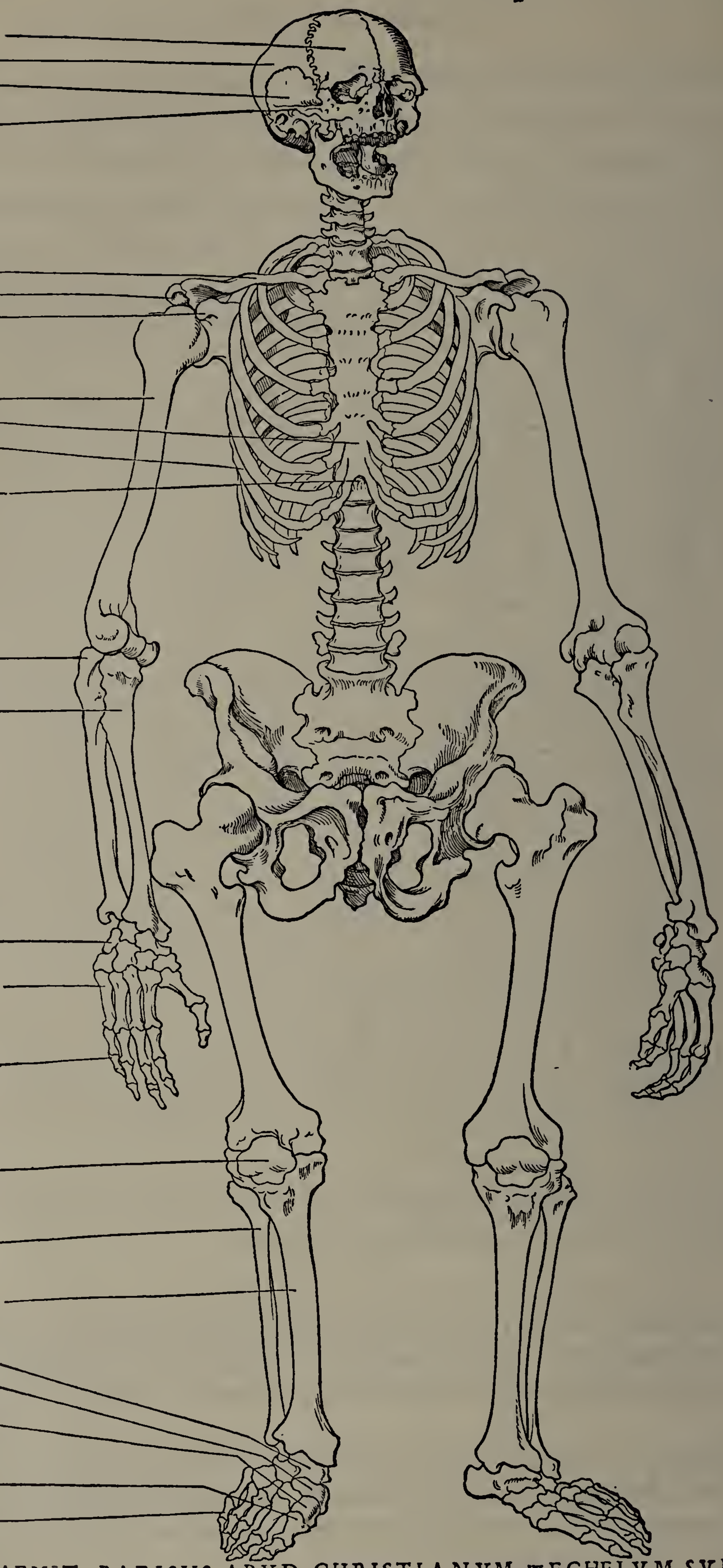
[4] Strangely enough, Dryander gave the same title to his figure of the skeleton in Anatomia Mundini three years later, though this is different from Wechel's. Cf. E. Turner, "Les planches anatomiques de J. Dryander et de G. H. Ryff" (Gazette hebdomadaire de médecine et de chirurgie 23 (1876) 818).

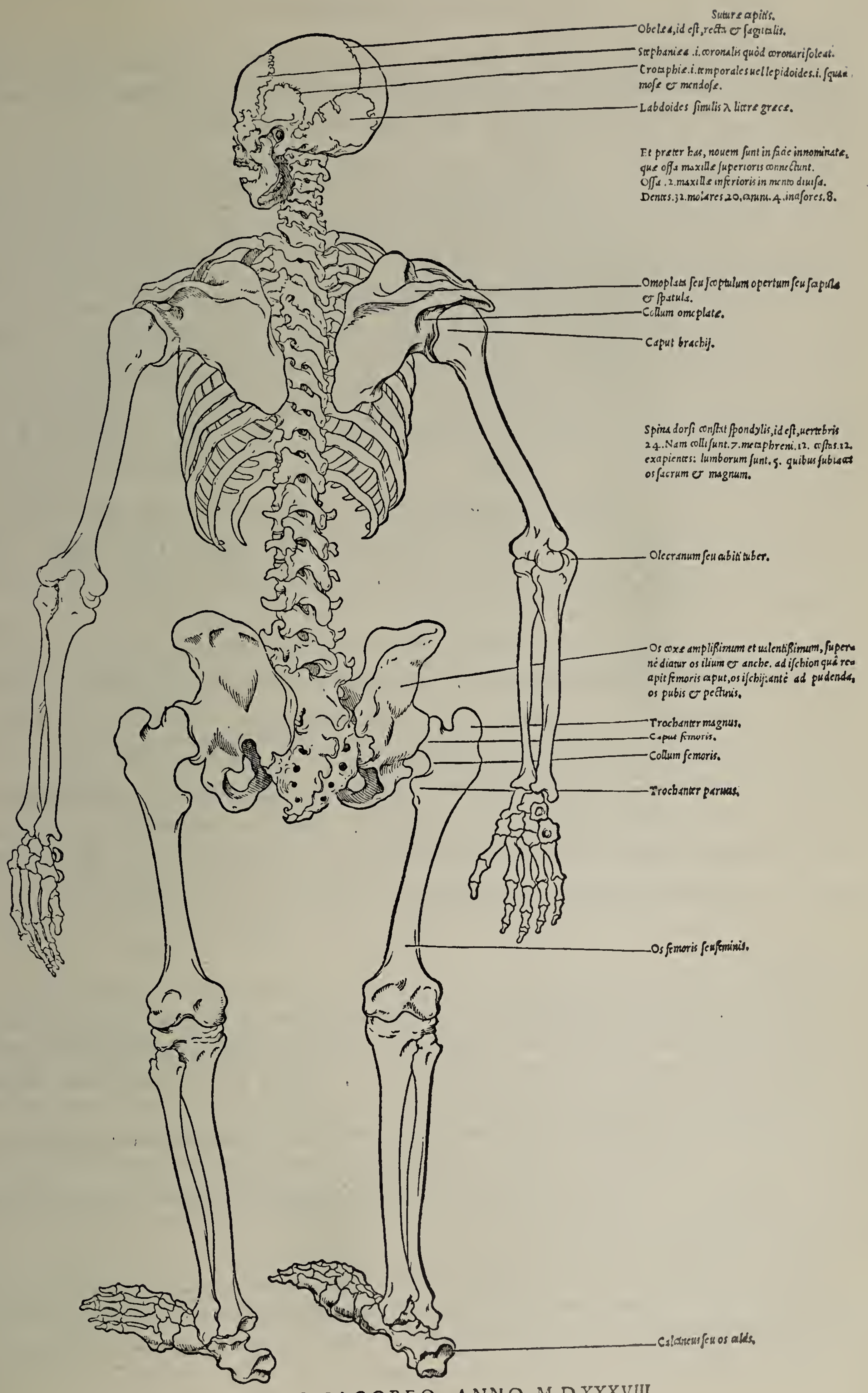
Oſteotome .i. oſſium corporis humani


Oſſa cranij.i.caluariæ.7.
Os frontis & coronale.
Oſſa.2.bregmatis.i.ſynápitis,& parietalia.
Oſſa.2.lithoïdea.i.lapidoſa & petroſa.
Os palati & baſilare hic oſtendi non poteſt.
Zygoma,uel os zygœides.i.iugale & paris.
Clauis & os furculæ.
Acromion,proceſſus ſuperior omoplatæ.
Ancyroïdes uel coracoïdes,proceſſus anterior omoplatæ,ſimilis anchoræ uel roſtro corui.
Brachium ſeu humerus & os adiutorij.
Sternum ſeu os pectoris conſtans oßibus.7.excipientibus coſtas ueras.
Coſtæ.24.utrinq; 12.ex quibus ueræ ſeu perfectæ.7. ſuperiores: nothæ ſeu imperfectæ & mendoſæ.5.inferiores.
Xyphoïdes,ſeu enſiformis cartilago
Pechys ſeu cubitus uel ulna, & focile maius quo etiam nomine pars hæc tota dicitur brachium Celſo.
Cerás ſeu radius, & focile minus.
Carpus ſeu brachiale & raſceta, conſtat oßibus.8.4.in ſingulos ordines coniectis.non incertus horum numerus cum Celſo.
Metacarpium,& pecten oßibus.4.conſtat Galeno,non.5.cum Celſo, Guidone,& alijs.
Singulis.5. digitorum oſſa tria.
Acrocheron ſeu manus extrema,etiam carpum & metacarpion cum digitis continet.
Myle & epigonatis ſeu patella & rotula genu.
Perione ſeu ſura,os minus tibiæ.
Cneme ſeu tibia, os maius tibiæ.Nam tota hæc pars etiam tibia,& crus dicitur, ut in cubito.
Aſtragalus ſeu talus & os baliſtæ.
Scaphoides os ſeu nauiforme.
Tria hæc oſſa nullam habent partem in manu reſpondentem.
Oßa tarſi & raſcetæ. 4. (quorum maximum & externum calcaneo commiſſum,cyboïdes ſeu cubiforme dicitur: cætera tria nominibus carent, chalcoïdea quibuſdā dicūtur) carpo reſpōdent.
Oſſa.5. pedij,ſeu plani,ac plantæ,& pectinis, metacarpio reſpondent.
Oſſa.14.digitorum.5. pedis.

VAENIT PARISIIS APVD CHRISTIANVM WECHELVM SVB

Human skeleton by Wechel 1538 (left sheet, reduced).

diuiſio, ex Galeno præcipue collecta.


Suturę capitis.
Obelęa, id eſt, recta & ſagittalis.
Stephanięa .i. coronalis quòd coronari ſoleat.
Crotaphię .i. temporales uel lepidoides .i. ſquamoſę & mendoſę.
Labdoides ſimilis λ litterę grecę.
Et preter has, nouem ſunt in facie innominatę, quę oſſa maxillę ſuperioris connectunt.
Oſſa .2. maxillę inferioris in mento diuiſa.
Dentes .32. molares 20, canini .4. inciſores .8.
Omoplata ſeu ſcoptulum opertum ſeu ſcapula & ſpatula.
Collum omoplatę.
Caput brachij.
Spina dorſi conſtat ſpondylis, id eſt, uertebris 24. Nam colli ſunt .7. metaphreni .12. coſtas .12. exapientes: lumborum ſunt .5. quibus ſubiacet os ſacrum & magnum.
Olecranum ſeu cubiti tuber.
Os coxę ampliſſimum et ualentiſſimum, ſupernè dicitur os ilium & anche. ad iſchion quâ recipit femoris caput, os iſchij: antè ad pudenda, os pubis & pectinis.
Trochanter magnus.
Caput femoris.
Collum femoris.
Trochanter paruus.
Os femoris ſeu fęminis.
Calcaneus ſeu os calcis.

SCVTO BASILIENSI, IN VICO IACOBEO, ANNO M.D.XXXVIII.

Human skeleton by Wechel 1538 (right sheet, reduced).

weckt. Auf den übrigen vorvesalischen Bildern sind die Gelenke oder Theile des Rumpfes von Weichtheilen verunstaltet. Wenn man von der Osteotome absieht erscheint das reine Skelett zuerst in den Tabb. anatt. Vesals.[5]

The possibility that Vesalius may have contributed to Wechel's skeleton figures—Vesalius studied in Paris from 1533 to 1536[6]—makes it especially regrettable that the *Osteotome* has been disregarded by other writers on the Vesalian plates. Karl Sudhoff thinks that the best representations of the skeleton before Vesalius are those of the Helain skeleton, Nuremberg 1493, and the related Grüninger skeleton "with the black abdomen", Strassburg 1497, that passed through many re-impressions.[7] A comparison with the *Osteotome* proves them to be far more rough and crude, however. M. Holl cannot find such a clear picture of the bone structure in any plates except those of Leonardo da Vinci drawn before Vesalius's *Tabulae*.[8] De Lint mentions but one earlier plate, the Wechtlin skeleton by Niclaus Bildhawer, Strassburg 1517, and considers the difference to be enormous.[9] So it is, by comparison with the *Osteotome* as well.

These early broadsides are merely mentioned in passing by Singer and Rabin[1], who devote their main attention to previous works in book form, and discuss Vesalius's dependence on them for his nomenclature. As far as I know, the text of the *Osteotome* 1536 has so far not been described by anyone. If the 1538 text should prove to be identical with the 1536 one, its connection with Vesalius is even closer than Roth suggests. However, my efforts to trace the 1536 *Osteotome* have been fruitless.[2] It is to be hoped that it has not disappeared, as did Macrolios's representation of the nerves—which no one but

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[5] Roth 462.

[6] Roth 64.

[7] Sudhoff 47. The Helain skeleton is reproduced by him in Fig. 2, p. 46, the Grüninger one in Fig. 3, p. 48, as well as in K. Sudhoff, "Deutsche medizinische Inkunabeln" (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin. H. 2/3), Leipzig 1908, Fig. 9, p. 56. The Helain skeleton is also given as Fig. 1 in De Lint, op. cit.

[8] M. Holl & K. Sudhoff, Des Andreas Vesalius' sechs anatomischen Tafeln, Leipzig 1920, 12.

[9] De Lint, p. 80 and Fig. 2; Choulant 25—27; Choulant & Frank 130—135; Crummer (1923), 192, 203.

[1] Singer & Rabin v, xxxiii.

[2] I thank Professor Dr. Paul Diepgen, Medizinhistorisches Institut, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, Mainz, Privatdozent Dr. R. Herrlinger, Münchsteinach, and Dr. Chr. Vischer, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, for their kindness in replying so promptly to my enquiries, although their replies were negative.

Choulant has seen. I am thus obliged to confine myself to the 1538 *Osteotome* in the following comments, keeping in mind the possibility of their identity.

The *Osteotome* 1538 contains several of the terms used in Vesalius's *Tabulae* of which Singer and Rabin were unable to find earlier examples in the literature they had consulted.[3] Provided that the two Osteotomes had identical texts, a source for those terms is here presented. Several other terms that the *Tabulae* and the *Osteotome* have in common are by Singer and Rabin referred to Celsus's *De medicina* without suggesting any intermediate source.[4]

One of Vesalius's teachers in Paris was Johann Günther of Andernach. He translated and published many works by the medical authorities of antiquity, including Galen's most important anatomical treatise, *Anatomicae administrationes* (Paris 1531), which he rendered for the first time into Latin and dedi-

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[3] They are, with references to Singer & Rabin's note numbers:

Furculae	108	"perhaps an error of Vesalius".
Ulna	141	"It is perhaps a new Parisian usage, possibly of Sylvius".
Parietalia	198	"We have not traced it further back than Dryander, Anatomiae pars prior, Marburg 1537".
Krotaphoi	200	"It is seldom used by Galen, and its introduction here is of no practical use".
Basilare	216	"a misunderstanding of Vesalius".
Tibia	253	"Vesalius reverts here to Celsan usage".
Squammosae (Ves.: Squammaeformes)	293	"It has no classical foundation. We have not been able to trace it further".
Lapidosa	296	"doubtless a term of the Paris school, but gained no currency elsewhere".
Scapula	300	"it may be that Vesalius is here using scapula in the modern sense for the first time".

The nomenclature of the Vesalian *Tabulae* is not discussed by Horst Zoske, Die Osteologie Vesals. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der anatomischen Nomenklatur, Inaug. Diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1949. (Aus dem Medizinhistorischen Institut der Universität Bonn.), nor is Singer & Rabin cited by him. Three other German works have not been available to me: Johannes Steudel, "Der vorvesalische Beitrag zur anatomischen Nomenklatur" in Arch. Gesch. Med. 36 (1943) 1—42; Karl Fischer, Die Nomina anatomica in den "Isagogae" des Berengario da Carpi. Ein Beitrag zur anatomischen Nomenklatur vor Vesal, Med. Diss., Leipzig 1943; Karl Wilhelm Grabert, Die Nomina anatomica bei den deutschen Wundärztzen Hieronymus Brunschwig und Hans von Gersdorff, ihre Beziehungen zu Guy de Chauliac und ihre Verhältnis zu den Jenensen Nomina Anatomica des Jahres 1935, Med. Diss., Leipzig 1944.

[4] Singer & Rabin lxvii. The terms are: humerus 300; non incertus cum Celso 153; os coxe 250; tibia 253; sura 260; os calcis 270; sutura 273. The Osteotome follows Celsus as regards focile (142) as well.

cated to the then Dean of the Medical Faculty, Jean Tagault.[5] In 1536 he published a manual of anatomy, *Institutiones anatomicae,* the first of its kind. Vesalius had collaborated in the writing of this manual, as Günther acknowledges in the preface, and as Vesalius himself mentions in several places.[6] Vesalius published an edition of the book in Venice in the same year as the *Tabulae* appeared, 1538. There are many terms in the latter which Vesalius had taken from his teacher in Paris, and it is not surprising that this Parisian usage should also be found in Wechel's *Osteotome.*[7] It has likewise terms that one recognises from the writings of other Parisian physicians such as Jacobus Sylvius (Du Bois), another of Vesalius's teachers, and Charles Estienne—though their books appeared after Vesalius's *Tabulae.*[8]

In view of the possibility that Vesalius might have used the *Osteotome* for his *Tabulae,* it is interesting to note that certain terms are more correct in Wechel's version than in Vesalius's, as well as that the *Osteotome,* for all its unwieldiness, gives a better drawing of the sternum than Calcar could achieve.[9]

The philological exactitude discernible in the details of the pirated Paris edition of the *Tabulae* is thus noticeable in the *Osteotome* too. It is also in evidence in the three other skeleton plates among the broadsides of the Royal Library in Stockholm. Like the five sheets already mentioned, these were also printed by Chrestien Wechel. They have the text from the last three of the *Tabulae* together with woodcuts which are known from publications in 1541 of the Strassburg plagiarist Walter Ryff. Cushing gives full particulars of where these plates occur in the various editions issued by Ryff.[1] In addition, he shows that they were also used in a work by Jean Tagault, *De chirurgia institutione,* which was printed by Wechel in 1543.[2] Furthermore, another edition of Ryff's *Description ou Anatomie de toutes les parties du corps,* published by Cornelius Bos in Antwerp, probably in 1542, may be added to Cushing's list. The only known copy is in the Waller collection in the University Library at Uppsala.

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[5] E. Turner, Jean Guinter d'Andernach (1505—1574) (Gazette hebdomadaire de médecine et de chirurgie 28 (1881), 425—434, 505—516). Regarding G's work, see Maittaire 434—437 and 515—519.

[6] Roth 66—71; Cushing 44 et seq.

[7] As given in Singer & Rabin: radius 145, brachiale 150, metakarpion 154, pecten 155, patella 162, chalcoidea (a more correct transcription in the Osteotome) 184, ischion 251, lithoide 298, omoplata 302 (300).

[8] ulna 141, os balistae 170, metaphreni 231, lapidosa 296.

[9] Rostro corui instead of rostrum porcinum 115, chalcoidea instead of kalkoide 184, obelaea instead of oboliaia 284, os femoris instead of faemur 338.

[1] Anatomi. Strassburg: B. Beck 1541 (fol. A1b. C2b, C5b).

[Tabulae decem in German] Ibidem 1541 (fol. D right, E left, E right).

Omnium humani corporis partium descriptio seu ut vocant Anatomia. Ibidem 1541 (as the preceding).

Ditto, Paris: H. Gourmont 1545 (as the preceding).

Anatomica omnium humani corporis. Paris: C. Wechel 1543. (D2a, D3a, D4a).

Description anatomique. (French edition of Anatomica) Ibidem 1543 (as the preceding).

The fact that these woodcuts were used not only in Ryff's Strassburg publications and their Paris editions, but also in Tagault's work, in which Ryff had no part, prompted Cushing—with his erroneous notion that Vesalius's figures of the skeleton were the first three *Tabulae*—to suggest that the Ryff plates had been used for the pirated Paris version of the *Tabulae.* To justify that conclusion, he was forced to assume the existence of an earlier edition of these skeleton plates, at that time undiscovered, which must have been known to Vesalius, when he wrote his letter to Oporinus. It is an irony of fate that the discovery which now confirms Cushing's idea that there was an earlier Wechel edition of these skeletons at the same time brings to light the real pirated Paris version of the veins and arteries, which finally demolishes his explanation of these earlier Wechel plates. As now appears, they must be regarded, not as the Paris version itself, but as a supplement to the first three plates, actually constituting the pirated Paris version. This supplement presented the skeleton plates needed, and was a later substitute for the *Osteotome* in this respect.

The *Osteotome* came out in 1536 and 1538. The Paris issue of the *Tabulae* and the three skeleton plates are, however, undated. It is nevertheless possible to assign them a more precise date. Their imprints all give Wechel's address as *sub scuto Basiliensi.* Wechel used this address until 1539, but from 1540 to 1544 he used instead the double address *sub scuto Basiliensi in vico Jacobaeo, & sub Pegaso in vico Bellovacensi*[3]*,* which occurs on all the Wechel editions of Ryff and Tagault mentioned by Cushing. It follows that not only the three pirated plates but also the three skeleton plates were printed during 1538—39, in spite of the fact that Vesalius in his letter to Oporinus mentions only the first three plates. Consequently, these must have been printed before the figures of the skeletons. Although the latter must have been derived from Calcar's drawings, they are too crude to deceive anyone in the way that the plates on the arteries and veins may well have done. Any copying of the skeletons was

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Anatomica ... Ibidem 1545 (ditto).

Description anatomique ... Ibidem 1545 (ditto).

[2] Cushing 22—28, 39—42. Cf. E. Turner 1876 and Crummer 1923, pp. 191, 193.

[3] Maittaire 406: "usque ad annum 1539" and "1540 usque ad 1544". Cf. the less precise date given by Ph. Renouard, Imprimeurs parisiens, Paris 1898, 373: "vers 1540".

more a matter for Calcar than for Vesalius, who is careful in the dedication of his *Tabulae* to distinguish between his figures and Calcar's.[4] Consequently, if Vesalius had seen the three Wechel skeletons, he did not have the same reason to say anything about them; perhaps he never even saw them.

The fact that Wechel's skeletons were printed at the latest in 1539 also provides confirmation of Cushing's somewhat involved hypothesis that the blocks were cut in Paris, then lent to Ryff and Beck in Strassburg and subsequently used once more in Paris by Wechel. I have been able to ascertain that the same blocks were used in Paris and Strassburg by a direct comparison of copies in the Waller collection in Uppsala.[5] Such a borrowing of blocks is not so improbable as we might be tempted to think. The international relations were close within the learned world, to which printers as well as scholars belonged. As a matter of fact, we have evidence that information about the medical faculty in Paris was eagerly sought after in Germany in those days. On one occasion when Vesalius was in Cologne, Johannes Eccius, the professor of botany there, showed him a letter from Dryander in which the latter complained that Vesalius had sent him no news of the famous Parisian professors of anatomy, especially Günther.[6] Furthermore, we have already seen how Dryander borrowed Wechel's title *Osteotome* . . . for his quite different skeletons in *Anatomia Mundini* 1541.[7]

The identity of the anonymous persons behind these products of Wechel's printing-press is uncertain. It is clear that Wechel himself played a prominent part, as was usual among the master-printers of that period. His catalogue includes 52 medical works, of which 24 were editions of Galenus, and this placed him in the forefront of medical publishers, before Robert Estienne and Simon de Colines, who together had no more than 41 titles.[8] The treacherous Arabic and Jewish terms in Hebrew garb, which had puzzled Vesalius[9], did not necessarily bother Wechel, who had published Genesis and Exodus in Hebrew the year before, and who employed the best correctors in Paris. The publication of these medical broadsides also fitted in with his activities as a publisher, which included the printing of several illustrated works.[1]

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[4] Singer & Rabin v—vi.

[5] Ryff's Anatomi, Strassburg 1541, and Tagault's Chirurgi 1543. The skeletons of the previously unknown Antwerp edition are newly cut, on the other hand—certainly by the publisher, Cornelius Bos. The blocks have left an imprint which is 1 mm higher, the nose in Plate V is better, and so on. It also seems that the skeleton figures in Ryff's Anatomica, Paris 1545, were from other blocks, as they are 22, 22 and 21.4 cm long, in the sequence corresponding to Vesalius's Tabulae, whereas the equivalent measurements for the skeletons discussed here are 21.8, 21.6, and 21.1 cm. I am sincerely grateful to Miss Madeline Stanton, and Miss Marguerite C. Adkins of the Yale Medical Library, for measurements from the 1545 edition, which is kept there, and for notes about the copy in the Duke University Library of the Ryff *Descriptio,* Strassburg 1541.

[6] E. Turner, Jean Guinter d'Andernach (1881) 447.

[7] See above, p. 6, note 4. It may be added that Günther was Dryander's teacher (Roth 213).

Whom Wechel consulted in medical matters when he published Vesalius's and the other broadsides we do not know. We can discount at once the most famous man among the teachers of the medical faculty, Jacobus Sylvius (Du Bois), because he was a violent enemy of illustrations, in which he considered himself to be a consistent Galenist.[2]

As we have seen, Vesalius's other teacher in Paris, Johann Günther, contributed a good deal to the terminology of the *Osteotome* and the *Tabulae* from his popular work, *Institutiones anatomicae*.[3] Vesalius had collaborated with him in this textbook, and the later relations between these two suggest that Günther may have been implicated in the publication of the pirated Paris version and Wechel's other plates. Günther is just as appreciative of his famous pupil in the later editions of his *Institutiones* as in the first.[4] Vesalius, on the other hand, changed his attitude. In his edition of Günther's book in 1538, Vesalius was so considerate towards his teacher in the corrections he made that it quite surprised Roth, who regarded Günther's work almost as Vesalius's own.[5] This is in sharp contrast to Vesalius's open sneers about Günther's incompetence on several later occasions.[6] As far as I know, this change of heart on the part of Vesalius has never been explained. It is tempting to connect it with the publication of Wechel's series of medical plates, which must have been a troublesome competitor with Vesalius's own among the Paris students. The fact that Vesalius did not directly mention this series of Wechel's in his later comments on Günther may be explained by the circumstance that Günther could not alone be held responsible for them. This must be deduced from the use of different forms of the term for the suture on the back of the skull. Vesalius, in *Tabula* VI, had taken the incorrect form *oboliaia* from Günther. This recurs on the corresponding skeleton plate of Wechel's, while his *Osteotome* has the correct form, *obelaea,* as we have already seen. This correct form, on the other hand, was used by Tagault, who thus altered Wechel's skeleton plates, when he included them in his textbook of surgery in 1543. According to the preface, this textbook was the result of seven years' lecturing experience—taking us back to the date of the first *Osteotome,* 1536.[7] This is not the only point that Tagault's work and the *Osteotome* have in common. They were both much indebted to Celsus, and they made both use of illustrations, Tagault thus being an exception among the Galenists of the time.

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[8] Maittaire, loc. cit.

[9] Singer & Rabin, lxxvii—lxxxvi. I am very much indebted to my learned colleagues, Harald Holmberg and John Rohnström for checking Wechel's Hebrew.

[1] A. F. Didot, 152—154.

[2] Roth, 125 and 65; Singer & Rabin, iv and xvii; F. Baker, "The Two Sylviuses" (Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin 1909, 329—339); Cushing, xxx et seq.

[3] See above, p. 8 notes 6 and 7. Cf. Singer & Rabin, xvi, xxi et seq.

[4] Roth, 71 and 124; Cushing, xxvi and 44.

[5] Roth, 93, cf. 70—73; Cushing 44—51.

[6] Roth, 67.

An enigmatic remark in Günther's book calls for comment. He states that he omitted any direct consideration of osteology, because, as he puts it, "the structure of the bones has been treated elsewhere".[8] As far as I know, nobody has discovered what he was referring to. It is tempting to suppose that he meant the *Osteotome* of 1536.

There is reason to suggest that the person responsible for the text of the *Osteotome* also had a hand in the production of the text to Wechel's three skeletons. On the plate corresponding to Vesalius's *Tabula* IV, there is an addendum, not found in the original, which had already appeared in the *Osteotome,* apart from insignificant orthographical differences.[9] Other addenda, together with the superscripts to the plates, show that Wechel's medical adviser was a convinced Galenist. The Wechel skeleton plate corresponding to Vesalius's *Tabula* V is of particular interest in this connection. After the heading LATERALIS SKEΛETOY FIGURAE DESIGNATIO, which occurs in both, Wechel has a four-line quotation from Galen's *De anatomicis administrationibus*. As we have seen, the first Latin translation of this work was due to Günther and appeared in 1531.[1] The quotation from Galen lays down the order in which medical studies should be pursued—first the skeleton and the muscles, then the arteries, veins and nerves, and not until the student is familiar with these should he proceed to the internal organs. This is what Vesalius had done in his illustrations, though it does not seem that this passage was introduced to explain why Vesalius selected the veins and arteries and the skeleton for illustration in his *Tabulae*. He was clearly following Galen's plan of study, and the most appropriate modern description of his *Tabulae* would probably be an illustrated textbook for medical freshmen.

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[7] J. Tagault, De chirurgica institutione, Paris 1543, 354 (verso) and the introduction. (I have referred to the copy in the Waller collection in Uppsala University Library.) It may be added that Günther dedicated his edition of Galen's De ratione medendi, 1536, to Tagault (Maittaire, 837).

[8] "Ossium structura alibi tractata est"; Basle edition, 1536, 129 (copy in Uppsala University Library). The Paris edition, 1536, 111, is quoted by Roth, 70, who adds "Wo?". — Cf. Tagault's words in the introduction to his manual of surgery: "Anatomē quoque (cuius cognitio in primis Chirurgo est necessaria) praetermisimus, quod haec in longè eruditissimis ac prope divinis Galeni commentarijs de usu partium corporis humani, & libris eiusdem de anatomicis administrationibus, ac quibusdam etiamalijs, summa tum arte tum eloquentia conscriptos (ut reliquos taceam, qui hac de re nostra memoria scripserunt) amplissimè ac fidelissime doceatur & exponatur."

[9] Added to the text under Litt. P: "Acrochειron seu manus extrema etiā carpū & metacarpium cum digitis continet." In the Osteotome we have "Acrochειron seu manus extrema, etiam carpum & metacarpion cum digitis continet". The sentence is certainly taken from Galen, although I have not been able to find precisely this formulation in the editions available to me. There is a similar—but not identical—sentence in De ossibus as edited by Sylvius.

Let me now summarise this long chain of reasoning.

Wechel's *Osteotome* represents a skeleton prepared with a skilful technique which at that time none but Vesalius himself could have possessed. The *Osteotome* of 1538 and Vesalius's *Tabulae* of the same year have some terms in common, hitherto not found in earlier literature. If the *Osteotome* of 1538, which is here reproduced, should prove to be an identical re-impression of the *Osteotome* of 1536, seen by Choulant and Roth but not found to-day, one has to assume one of the two possibilities: Vesalius has either collaborated in skeletonizing and in the text of the *Osteotome* of 1536, or he has learnt from this *Osteotome* how the skeleton could be represented graphically and used it as a source. Subsequently, when Vesalius published the complete *Tabulae* in Venice in 1538, Wechel hastened to add to his *Osteotome,* which he published anew, a pirated version of the first three *Tabulae,* representing the arteries and veins. But the series proved to be deficient in this form, so before the end of 1539 Wechel had the Calcar skeletons recut, and published them with a fuller text taken from Vesalius, together with addenda conforming to the doctrines of Galen then current in Paris. The new skeleton plates were more practical in size than Vesalius's unwieldy first three plates and the *Osteotome.* Wechel afterwards issued Ryff's works, all in the smaller size. They are entered immediately after the *Osteotome* and the three plates in his catalogue of 1544. To these anatomical publications he added Tagault's work on surgery. It is not improbable that he had Günther and Tagault as medical advisers for these publications.

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[1] Singer & Rabin, xv and xxvi. Galen's study plan is mentioned by Günther in his Institutiones anatomicae, in the place just cited where he states that he will not consider osteology.

IV

The discovery of medical broadsides in the Royal Library of Stockholm includes two pairs of the Adam-and-Eve type mentioned in the introduction. One pair is inserted together with the broadsides treated above. Its text is in French and printed in Paris by Jehan Ruelle without date. The latter began printing about 1540. We know that his press issued a similar pair of Adam-and-Eve figures that year, but with a Latin text.[2] It is probable that the sheets in the Royal Library are from a hitherto unknown French edition of this Latin publication, using the same woodcuts—the titles, at least, are literal translations. It is not possible to reach a definite conclusion until the Latin version has been reproduced. Both versions show the internal organs on several superimposed flaps. If we endeavour to classify these new plates according to Crummer's scheme, Adam and Eve are found to belong to two different types.

The seated figure of the man differs but slightly from the oldest known copper-engraving of Adam (reproduced by De Lint, Fig. 5), which was printed in Antwerp before 1540 by Cornelius Bos, who has already been mentioned in connection with one of Ryff's works. This copper-engraving is described as a more elegant copy of a woodcut Adam printed by Hans Guldenmundt of Nuremberg in 1539.[3]

The Eve, on the other hand, does not belong to this type. In all essential details the figure resembles the woodcut of Eve published in Augsburg in 1538 by Jobst de Necker (reproduced by Weindler, Fig. 86).[4] This belongs to the other main type, printed by Heinrich Vogtherr in Strassburg in 1538 (reproduced by Weindler, Fig. 85). Necker's figure, like Ruelle's, is much better executed than Vogtherr's, but their relative chronology cannot at present be

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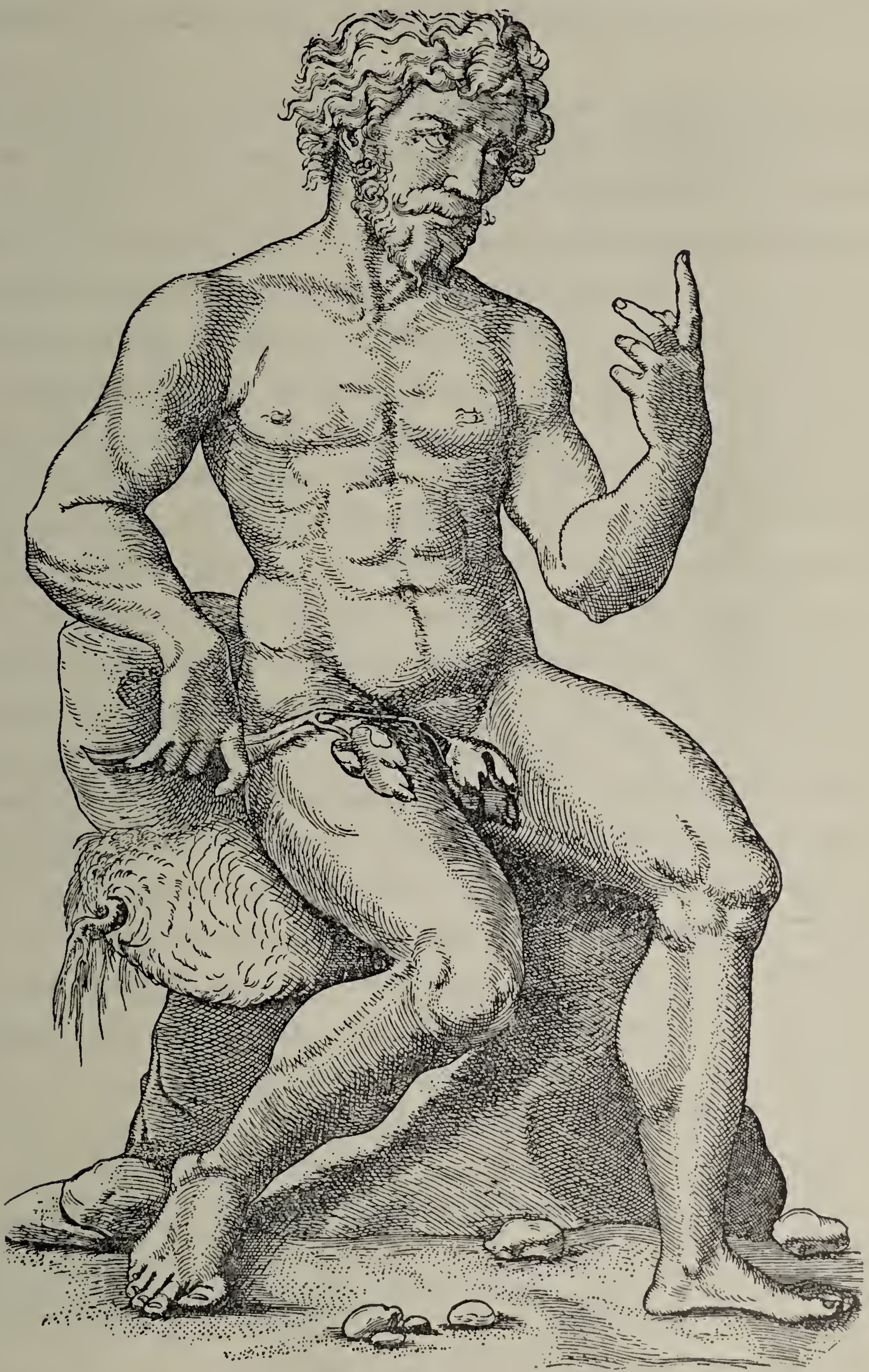
[2] Crummer 1923, 208 (Class 4, type 3).

[3] De Lint, 85 and Fig. 5; Crummer 1923, 197 and 206. The most important differences are that Ruelle's Adam has no apple, and that no grass is drawn behind the stone on which he is seated.

[4] Ernest Wickersheimer, Une gravure anatomique de Jobst de Negker (1538) (Bulletin de la société française d'histoire de la médecine. XV (1921) 114—118); De Lint, 88; Crummer 1923, 197, 208. Ruelle's Eve differs from Necker's principally in the drawing of the hair and face; the left middle finger is lifted, and likewise the left heel.

Vif Pourtraict Des Parties Interieures
DV CORPS HVMAIN.



Adam by Jehan Ruelle c. 1540 (reduced).

established. The question is complicated by the fact that Necker's text, according to De Lint, is the same as that of Bos and Guldenmundt, whereas Ruelle's is different. It has omitted certain popular features of the Necker texts—where the womb is described as 'of God', the stomach compared to 'a harbour', and so on—and instead gives detailed scientific explanations following Galenist principles.

Ruelle's text includes a paragraph under the figure of Adam on the "Congnois toy mesme" of the Delphic oracle. If Ruelle's sheets can really be assigned to 1540, this device is of considerable interest. It was usual to link this device with the Adam-and-Eve motif in the later English and French broadsides, but the date suggested here would indicate that the practice began somewhat earlier. It occurs in the earliest sheet with a French text hitherto known, that of H. Bourmont from 1585. This broadside, moreover, has a title very similar to Ruelle's, although Adam and Eve are depicted on one single sheet, seated together on the edge of a bathtub. Curiously enough, the title of the 1585 sheet gives Vesalius as the author, but Crummer summarily dismisses this as "a misnomer", since the anatomy is pre-Vesalian. However, the plate may be compared with Schonborn's issue of 1590, where Adam's face is a likeness of Vesalius. This connection of Vesalius with the Adam-and-Eve motif may be a late reminiscence of a direct relation. It is worth keeping in mind when approaching the greatest problem concerning these broadsides: that such sheets suddenly appear in different places in Germany in the same year as Vesalius's *Tabulae.* Necker's Eve of Augsburg and Vogtherr's pair of Strassburg[5] are altogether dissimilar in their execution. While Ruelle's Eve follows the Necker type, his Adam is of the quite different Guldenmundt type of Nuremberg 1539.

The differences may imply that all the types originated from a common source, now lost. This immediately brings to mind Vesalius, especially as he was a pioneer in the use of illustrations. Moreover, it is clear that he was familiar with the Adam-and-Eve theme, because he made use of it in his first *Epitome,* though he omitted it in the *Fabrica.*[6] It is also worthy of note that De Lint found in Vogtherr's sheets from 1539 detailed figures of the uterus and foetus which recur in Vesalius's *Fabrica,* "more accurately drawn".[7] De Lint therefore concluded that "some of the figures of Vesalius's *Fabrica* are copied from older representations, probably from the set of plates by Hans Guldenmundt of the year 1539". This is mere hypothesis, however. In fact, it seems equally possible that all the Adam-and-Eve broadsides are derived from some plates by Vesalius which are now lost. The evidence at present available does not enable us to decide this matter, or to solve the problem why the motif first appeared in 1538.

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[5] LeRoy Crummer, "A check-list of anatomical books illustrated with cuts with superimposed flaps" (Bulletin of the Medical Library Association, Quarterly. N. S. XX (1932) 131).

[6] Crummer 1923, 194.

[7] De Lint, 87, 89, 91.

Crummer has shown that the Adam-and-Eve motif became extremely popular, but he records no edition from Prague. However, stuck to the inside of the covers of the copy of Grévin's *Anatomes ... descriptio,* 1565, in the Royal Library in Stockholm, are a pair of plates of Guldenmundt's more unusual type, vividly coloured, from Michael Peterle's press in Prague.

All the broadsides dealt with here, apart from the pair from Prague, are bound in a volume of Geminus from 1545. Their good condition and the way in which they are inserted into the book suggest that the insertion was made when the book was bound, soon after 1545. This agrees with Crummer's observation that it was usual to grangerize Geminus's works in this way.[8]

The implication of this seems to be that Geminus was the most easily available presentation of the new anatomy for English and French students. To facilitate detailed study and comparison students of medicine occasionally pasted such broadsides into their illustrated textbooks. De Lint also thinks that the medical broadsides were used in the teaching of medicine.[9] Thus, we can safely reject Choulant's theory, so often repeated, that such broadsides were hung up in barber's shops and bath-houses for the edification and amusement of customers.[1] The combination of a representation of internal organs of the human body with the device from Apollo's temple, *Nosce te ipsum. Knowe thy self,* the subject of so much humanist cogitation, is a clear argument that these plates had a deeper significance in the service of humanist medicine.

V

Bibliographical Description

In Thomas Geminus's *Compendiosa totius Anatomiae delineatio,* London, 1545, the following ten broadsides are inserted directly after the colophon in the copy of the Royal Library in Stockholm:

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[8] Crummer 1932, 131.

[9] De Lint, 91.

[1] Choulant, 39; Choulant & Frank, 156; Weindler, 104; Crummer 1923, 190, 201 et seq.

(1) [Vesalius, Tab. IV:] HVMANI CORPORIS OSSA PARTE ANTERIORI EX/PRESSA, QVAE NONNVLLI IN DVCENTA QVADRAGINTA OCTO, ALIQVI VERO / in alium numerum redigunt: ego excepto hyoide, quod integrum ferè ex sex: ossiculis per synchondrosim unitis conformatur, & sesaminis ducenta & / quadraginta sex putauerim, hoc disticho comprehensa.

Printed on a broadsheet 39.7 × 27.8 cm, with a printed area 31 × 25.5 cm, and the height of the skeleton 21.8 cm. The skeleton is to the right, the text to the left. In the centre four Aldine fleurons.

(2) [Vesalius, Tab. VI:] ΣΚΕΛΕΤΟΝ A TERGO DELINEATVM, IN QVO VIDENTVR / FORMAE, SITVS, ET VERVS NVMERVS OMNIVM OSSIVM CORPORIS / HVMANI; QVAE IBI SVNT. / Ossia fiunt è semine, cùm id quod in eo crassius, terrestrius, & minus sequax, à calido vrente induratur, sicus lapides coquútur à calido torrefaciente & desiccante. Vide Gal. lib. 1. de semin. Nutriuntur medulla quae / in ipsis continetur. Gal. lib. 3. de nat. facult. Ossium substantia velut stabilimentum ac sedes alijs partibus est subiecta, alibi etiam velut propugnaculum quoddam ac murus. Gal. lib. 16. de vsu partium.

Printed with the skeleton to the left and the text to the right, the printed area 31 × 25 cm, and the height of the skeleton 21 cm. In the centre four Aldine fleurons.

(3) [Vesalius, Tab. V:] LATERALIS ΣΚΕΛΕΤΟΥ FIGVRAE DESIGNATIO. / OSSIVM OMNIVM NATVRA PRIMVM PERDISCENDA EST, SIVE IN HVMANO, SIVE IN SIMIÆ CORPORE, MO -/dò possis: prȩstaret autem in vtroque. Post illa mox ad musculorum concisionem properandum. Nam hȩ duae corporis partes reliquis omnibus veluti fundamenta subiecta sunt. Deinde li-/cebit quoduis discere primùm siue arterias, siue venas, siue neruos. Atque in horum consectionibus versato, viscerum natura, adhȩc intestinorum, adipis, & glandularum innotêscet: quȩ / rursus ipsa per se penitus inspicere conuenit. Hunc igitur exercitij ordinem sequi potiùs suaserim. Gal. anat. adm. lib. 1.

[Subscript:] PARISIIS, EX OFFICINA CHRISTIANI wECHELI, SVB SCVTO BASILIENSI, IN VICO IACOBAEO.

Printed with the text in two columns on either side of the skeleton, with a printed area 32.2 × 26.7 cm, height of the skeleton 21.6 cm.

(4) [Vesalius, Tab. III:] ARTERIA MAGNA . . .

Printed on a broadsheet, 54 × 39.8 cm, which is bound with the fold in the centre. Printed area 46.5 × 32 cm, the height of the figure 43 cm. Water-mark: Briquet 1255.

(5) [Osteotome, left sheet:] Osteotome .i. ossium corporis humani /
[Subscript:] VAENIT PARISIIS APVD CHRISTIANVM wECHELVM SVB

Printed on a broadsheet 47.5 × 27.5 cm, with a printed area 41 × 24.5 cm, and the height of the skeleton 38.8 cm. In binding, 9.5 cm of the lower part of the sheet extended beyond the pages of the book, and were folded in.

(6) [Osteotome, right sheet:] diuisio, ex Galeno præcipue collecta.
[Subscript:] SCVTO BASILIENSI, IN VICO IACOBEO, ANNO M.D. XXXVIII.

Printed on a broadsheet 47.2 × 28 cm, with a printed area 41.3 × 25.6 cm, and the height of the skeleton 38.2 cm. The lower part of the sheet is folded in, as in the preceding sheet.

(7) [Vesalius, Tab. I:] TABVLAE TRES DE ANATOMIA VENARVM ET ARTERIARVM, QVA:/RVM DVAE VENAS IECORIS CONTINENT. IN PRIMA EST, IN IECVR EX MESARAICIS POR-/recta portae vena dicta. In altera, vena concaua κοίλκȩ appellata cum suis ramis ex hepatis gibbo prodiens. Tertia, processus arteriæ aorti ex corde natae complectitur.
[Subscript:] PARISIIS APVD CHRISTIANVM wECHELVM SVB SCVTO BASILIENSI IN VICO IACOBAEO.

Printed as no. 4, on a broadsheet 53.5 × 39.8 cm, with a printed area 43.5 × 31.5 cm, and the height of the figure 26.2 cm. Water-mark: Briquet 1255.

(8) [Vesalius, Tab. II:] VENAE CAVAE...

Printed on a broadsheet 53.2 × 39.9 cm, with a printed area 46.4 × 33 cm, and the height of the figure 43.6 cm. Water-mark: Briquet 1255.

(9) Vif Pourtraict Des Parties Interieures / DV CORPS HVMAIN.
[Subscript:] A PARIS./ Par Iehan Ruelle Demourant en La Grand Rue Sainct Iacques / AVEC PREVILEGE.

Printed on a broadsheet 39.8 × 34.5 cm, with a printed area 30.1 × 38.3 cm, and the height of the figure 28.3 cm. The text is printed in narrow columns at the edge of the sheet. On account of its large width, the sheet is folded at the inner margin of the left-hand column.

(10) Anatomie Tresutile Pour Congnoistre / LES PARTIES INTERIEVRES DE LA FEMME, ET LA / Situation, Figure, Nombre, Et Position Dicelle.
[Subscript: as no. 9.]

Printed on a broadsheet 39.8 × 34 cm, with a printed area 30.5 × 38.3 cm, and the height of the figure 31.6 cm. Folded along the inner margin of the right-hand text column.

The following sheets are glued inside the front and back covers of the copy in the Royal Library in Stockholm of Jacques Grévin, *Anatomes totius, aere insculpta delineatio,* Paris, 1565:

(11) Anathomia, oder abconterfettung eines Mannes / Leib, wie er jnwendig gestalt ist, etc Vnd auch die Figur Adam vnser aller Vater / bedeut, der sich das Weib verführen liess, vnd von dem Baum des Lebens ass. Genes. am 3.

Printed area 35.7 × 22.6 cm; height of the figure 29.3 cm. Between the superscript and the figure are the following verses:

Durch falschen List die gifftig Schlang,
Den ersten Menschen leider zwang,
Das sie vom Baum dess Lebens assen,
Vnd Gottes Gebot so balt vergassen.
Nach solchem Fall stalt Gott zu red,
Die zwey Menschen, vnd strafft sie beid.

Hilfft nicht was aussred jedes sucht,
Auch ward die gifftig schlang verflucht,
Zwen beltzin Röck gab jn der HERR,
Vom Paradeyss trebb er sie ferr.
Die Port verwart ein Cherubin,
Als baldt macht sich der Tod zu jn.

(12) Anathomia, oder abconterfettung eines Weibes / Leib, wie er jnwendig gestalt ist, etc. Vnd auch die Figur Eua unser aller Mutter / bedeut, die durch listigkeit der Schlangen betrogen ward, vnd sich und uns alle bracht hat / in des Todes Gewalt.

Printed area 36.6 × 22.3 cm; height of the figure 30.2 cm. Between the superscript and the figure are the following verses:

Ir Augen wurden auffgethan,
Da sahen sie sich nackent stahn.
Ein jedes Feygenbletter nam,
Für sich, zudecken seine Scham.
Im schweysz seins Angesichts vnd not,

Ist Adam elendtlich sein Brot,
Eua gebirt jr Kinder klein,
Mit schmerzen, das erbarmbt ein Stein.
Gedruckt zu Prag, durch Michael Peterle,
Cum Gratia et Privilegio.

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